1: Ammar E, 1-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellanin MR13
Silwa

BIRTH, INFANCY AND EARLY TRAINING

be more attached to his home if his head has first 'fallen into it' at birth (masqat ar-ras).

There is no policy of any kind for limiting birth, either by spacing it out or by practising birth control. Birth control in the modern sense is unheard of, and in any case it is considered as a religious sin, and deemed an interference with God's creation.[1] A part of the married male ethos is not to regulate his sex desires, but to give them full play whenever the need arises. Continence is not a desirable thing for a married man, but to have sexual intercourse with his wife is a good religious deed (hasana). One should not counteract sexual desires but rather stimulate them, and hence the various devices such as special food and aphrodisiacs like hasheesh and opium are resorted to for sexual potency. The writer heard of no woman who has practised any devices to confer sterility on her.

The period of the 'forty days' is enshrouded in a great deal of secrecy and psychological delicacy. For fear of the evil eye, the influence of the evil spirits, or sterility, the mother should adhere to the rigid system of food, minimum movement and general seclusion and other taboos. This is the period in which another woman who wants to become pregnant might suddenly 'press' on her, and thus she could be hampered or delayed in her next pregnancy. However, when a visitor comes to the house the mother covers herself as well as the child and pretends to be feeling rather uncomfortable, either groaning or suffering from pain. In referring to the baby, visitors must be careful not to praise it openly, unless they use the safeguarding phrases such as 'God preserve him' (or her), 'may the Prophet's blessings be upon him'. On enquiring about the sex of a child, if it is a boy, his sex is usually hidden at first to be declared afterwards.

Concerning the child itself, one observes that it is announced and introduced in various ways. In the case of a boy, a 'gong' is produced in his room every morning and every evening; the purpose, as it is believed, is to make the child brave and not to fear any unexpected shock. Yet the reaction of the neighbours on hearing the sound is one of recognition that 'the so-and-so's are sounding for their child'.

The naming ceremony in the case of a boy is the second link in the chain of introducing the child to his neighbours and relatives. Actually the name is usually agreed upon before birth, though the ceremony is the formal occasion for declaring the name. Women have no formal congregation like the men, but a small portion of food and meat is sent to the homes of the female relatives. It is to be stressed that very few people have a naming ceremony for the girls, which is also a male gathering. The motive behind the girls' ceremony could be regarded as a kind of religious puritanism to counteract the pre-Islamic sin of burying the girls alive.

[1] A scholar of al-Azhar told the writer that the Grand Mufti of Egypt recently issued a 'fatwa' permitting the use of contraceptives and sanctioning abortion before the fourth month, that is 'before the child is gifted with a soul'.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

fit for prayers. It is not uncommon, whether amongst children or adults, to describe a person as disgraceful by saying that he has still got the foreskin. The relation between circumcision and ceremonial purity is also confirmed by the fact that those boys whose prepuce is absent are considered to be purified by the angels. The circumcised boy's dress, that of a religious man in open white shift and a green outer garment, could be also taken as evidence for the purificatory significance of the ritual.

It must be pointed out here that the circumcision of girls has never had the universality of that of the boys; the religious authority behind it is very weak and could be rejected, and even its practice is not universal throughout the Moslem world at present. On the other hand, some of the prophetic traditions, as mentioned earlier, do not specify its desirability for the female, and the absence of such a definite religious backing for it should render its abandonment comparatively easy. It is argued that circumcision of girls, by removing the clitoris, which is regarded as the centre of excitement, is deemed necessary for ensuring pre-marital chastity.[1] Such a statement was mentioned to the writer by the midwife in Silwa before he became aware of it in anthropological literature. The need for the control of any sexual excitability is understandable in a religiously puritanic community which considers any form of emotional stimulus, either through glance or touch, from any member of the opposite sex, other than the husband or wife, as sinful.

The circumcision ceremony could be considered as a public declaration of the child's sex, with the father as socially responsible for the ceremony in the case of his son, while the mother and her female relatives solely attend to it in the case of the daughter. In other words it provides a social emphasis on the child's alignment with its sex group. The distinction between male and female circumcision is reflected in Classical Arabic by the use of two different words—'khatan' for the boy, and 'khafd' for the girl. In the colloquial language of the village, circumcision of the boy is sometimes referred to as 'cutting his pigeon' while in the case of a girl it is described as 'cutting her cockscomb'. The operation is not suddenly performed on the child, but the mother, especially in the case of her son, may attempt to prepare him gradually for the event by caressing his organ and playfully endeavouring to separate the foreskin from the glans. While doing this, she would hum words to the effect that what she is doing will help to make him to become a man amongst men. In a community with rigid sex dichotomy, it is not surprising to find that it is a great fright, or a source of great resentment, for a small boy to be threatened by his mother that she will circumcise him, and for the girl to be threatened to be circumcised by the father. Such a threat by a parent of the opposite sex to the child is considered by the parents as one of the most dire threats that can be uttered, and it is thus used to help the child in identifying himself with the parent of his own sex.

[1] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Article on 'Circumcision', p. 666.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

and with them it is possibly a racial mark, but the following information was given to me by an Egyptian woman whom I questioned on the subject. Among the *fellāḥīn* the notches are cut when there is supposed to be something wrong with the inside of a child's mouth, and the operation is performed in babyhood. A midwife acts as the surgeon in such cases. She cuts the notch, or notches, with a pair of scissors, and the blood from the wound is rubbed on the roof of the child's mouth. If the mouth is very bad more than one notch is cut.

Long hair is certainly considered a woman's glory in Egypt, though I have rarely, if ever, seen really thick, long hair among the *fellāḥīn* women and girls. However, this defect is easily remedied, and every woman buys long plaits of false hair, which hang down far below her waist. She cuts her hair short on either side of her face, and forms this short hair into flat curls against her cheeks. Over her head she ties a silk or cotton kerchief, a brightly coloured one if she is young, a more sombre one if she has passed her youth, and this keeps the side curls in position. The hair is not dressed every day, but when it is done a double wooden comb is used (Fig. 26), with fine and coarse teeth. The centre of the comb is usually decorated with coloured designs.

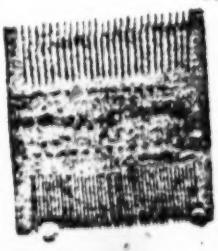

FIG. 26. DOUBLE WOODEN COMB

The long plaits worn by the peasant women are utilitarian as well as decorative. The house-door key is often attached to one of the plaits when the housewife goes off either to shop or to the fields, while from the others hang various charms, some of which are enclosed in small leather cases. One woman I know wore a charm against headache enclosed in a leather case, and also a large opaque bead to keep her husband's love and to make his mother pleased with her. Both these charms were attached to one of her plaits, and she gave me the bead after her husband died.

When a woman becomes a widow she immediately conceals the side curls; in fact, no hair must be seen round her face—it is tucked away under a dark blue or a black kerchief. She wears it like this all her life, unless she remarries, in which case the curls

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

form of hair-cutting for very young boys is dealt with in the following chapter.

After a death the male relatives of the deceased will often allow the hair on the face and head to grow for some time as a sign of mourning.

An Egyptian woman who fears that her facial beauty is beginning to fade, and who wishes to obliterate lines on her face and to obtain a nice pink complexion, will proceed in the following way. She takes a quantity of sugar and a little alum, and boils them together in a small quantity of water till the concoction becomes thick and brown like toffee; the pan is then removed from the fire. When the toffee-like substance is cool enough she takes some of it and pinches it up between her fingers and thumb and applies it to her face, where it sticks; she then pulls it off. She massages the whole of her face in this way, or she may get a friend to do it for her (see Fig. 27), till the skin becomes very pink and also the soft, downy hairs are pulled out. Her husband, on coming home, will admire her complexion and be 'pleased' (*mabsūṭ*) with her, and the woman herself will thus be gratified. I know a woman who, in order to excite her husband's admiration, treats her face in this way every day! After being thus massaged the face is washed with pink soap, and then a pink powder may also be applied. Many of the vainer of the peasant women regularly make use of this treatment in order to beautify themselves. I have myself seen the face

FIG. 27. WOMAN HAVING HER FACE MASSAGED

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

584 I HAVE already stated that girls at a very early age dress themselves up in order to attract attention to themselves and so secure a husband. These children are often married to quite [582] elderly men, old enough to be their fathers or even their grandfathers. Such disparity in age is most unsuitable, and frequently leads to great unhappiness. In their attempts to obtain husbands the girls are aided and abetted by their mothers, who resort to magic and trickery of all sorts to secure a desirable man. The two following incidents, which occurred while I was in Egypt in 1926, illustrate a device often employed by women who want to catch a man, either for themselves or for one of their daughters.

832 A certain woman living in a village in Middle Egypt was walking out one day when her glance fell on a young man (Fig. 41) to whom she took a great fancy, and who, she thought, would make an excellent husband for her daughter. She therefore went to a magi- [789] cian and begged him to write a charm, which she buried under the threshold of her house. She then persuaded one of her male relatives to bring the young man to her house on the pretext that he desired his company when he went thither on some business matter. The young man acceded to this request, and the elder man, who knew the exact spot where the charm was buried, stood at the door of the woman's house in such a position that his companion, when he entered, must step over the buried charm. The girl made some coffee for the two visitors, and either brought it in herself or allowed the young man to get a glimpse of her in some other way. The youth then went home, and on the way there began to think of the girl whom he had seen, and to desire her as his wife. By the time he reached home he wanted her still more, and by the evening was quite mad about her, refusing to eat or sleep, and saying that he must have the girl as his wife. I saw him several times after this, and he was in a most forlorn and love-sick condition, imploring me to intercede with his father, who was not

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

inclined to pay the bride-price, partly because the girl had been married before, but chiefly, I think, because he did not want to part with the money. The love-stricken young man, who had already got his portion of his father's house allotted to him in view of his marriage later on, would often enter these apartments to clean and tidy them, meditating the while on the girl whom he so desired.

The effect of this device on a man is, I am told, always the same; and even if he is already betrothed to another girl he will break off his engagement.

In Egypt betrothal is almost, if not quite, as binding as marriage, and the people speak of the dissolving of such a tie as a divorce. A man who has been affected in the way described above will, if he is betrothed, pay a large sum of money to get rid of the girl whom he was originally to have married. I was told that the man is quite unaware that a charm has been used to catch him. He just gets mad about the girl without any knowledge that such a trap has been set for him.

FIG. 41. THE YOUNG MAN WHO WAS THE VICTIM OF A LOVE-CHARM

On the other occasion the mother and brothers of a young unmarried girl were very anxious that she should secure a husband, but hitherto none had been forthcoming. One of my servants, a young man of twenty-two, had been seen several times by the various members of this family and by the girl herself. He is rather a nice-looking young man, and, moreover, has a certain amount of land and a good house. The eldest brother of the girl had been to my servant's village and visited his home, and had seen that his family was very superior to most of the other villagers. One day when my servant was walking through the garden of the house which had been lent to me by the Government he noticed

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

832 a piece of paper lying on the ground under one of the palm-trees. He picked it up and saw that it was a charm of some kind. He cannot read or write, but he can sign his name, and he noticed that his name was written on this charm. One of the Government *employés* who lives near by has a considerable knowledge of such matters, so my servant took the paper to him. The man read it and said that it was a charm written to make my servant love the girl mentioned above. It had been placed high up in the palm-tree, but had not been securely tied to the branch, and so had fallen on to the ground. However, it would not have been effective in any case, as the name of my servant's father was written in it, and not the name of his mother, which must always be inserted in such charms. The man said that it was a charm of terrible potency, and that, but for this slip, due probably to their not knowing the mother's name, it would have been disastrous in its effect! Unfortunately, my servant tore it up before he told me about it. I [152] reproached him for not giving it to me, as he knew I was anxious to collect such things, but he was obviously frightened, and felt that he must destroy it. I may mention that this young man is now safely married to one of his cousins.

587 As I have stated before, the girls when they have reached 588 marriageable age are more restricted in their freedom. If there [582] is an unmarried cousin, especially one in the paternal line, a girl is usually married to him. When a marriage is contemplated the 584 relatives of the two parties discuss how much money either is prepared to provide. When this has been settled the prospective bridegroom, or rather his father, pays the bride-price agreed upon to the bride's parents. They then repair to the *ḳāḍi*, as the village judge is called, and he writes out the agreement between the two parties. The couple are now betrothed, a betrothal, as I have already stated, being almost as binding as a marriage.

585 Among the Muslims there is no religious ceremony at a wedding, for with them marriage is not regarded as a sacrament; the actual marriage takes place when the bride goes to her husband's house. The bride is usually, so I am told, taken to her husband's house at sunset, but I have often seen her being conveyed thither in the 585 daytime. She is usually taken there on a camel, being seated in 492 a sort of tent-like erection fixed on to the animal's back, and she is accompanied by some of her girl friends. This erection sways from side to side as the camel walks along. Other camels, with

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

887 who must consummate the marriage. After this, if the parties agree,
586 they can be divorced, and the original husband can marry the woman again.

The old man begged me to see if I could do anything to help him, but I told him that there was nothing I could do, and that, in any case, at his age he ought no longer to be contemplating marriage, but had better direct his thoughts to preparing himself for death. I was told by some of the villagers that the divorced wife had been to a magician, who had written a charm to make the old man mad with love for her. Nearly every time I went to this village I found the old man mooning about the street near the house where his divorced wife was staying, and the villagers told me that he was always sitting there, in the hope of getting a glimpse of the woman, and that on market days he would buy her presents of meat and material for dresses, which he left at her house. I made the acquaintance of the wife, a tall, rather fine-looking woman. She appeared to be very happy and cheerful, and quite amused at the display of love on the part of her late husband. Just before I left Egypt there were rumours that her son by a former
584 marriage, a grown-up man with a wife and family of his own, was negotiating for the marriage of his mother with another man! If this takes place I fear the worst for my poor old friend!

FIG. 43. DIVORCED WIFE OF THE OLD MAN

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
COPTS MR10

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THE FELLĀḤIN OF UPPER EGYPT

When a magician is called in to find hidden treasure he goes at night to the ground where the treasure is said to be hidden, and he sweeps the whole plot to get rid of impurities, afterward sprinkling it with water. When this is done he lights a fire in which he burns some of the feathers of a hoopoo. The whole ceremony is repeated two or three nights in succession. On the third night the magician cuts a cross with a knife the whole length and breadth of the selected site. On the knife are inscribed the letters of the King of *alif*, these letters representing the servants of the King. (I should explain here that each letter of the alphabet, of which *alif* is the first, is said to have a king attached to it.) The magician now brings branches from four different trees—*i.e.*, olive, pomegranate, apricot, and tamarisk (*tarfā*). These four branches are stuck into each outer point of the cross, and are brought together at the upper ends like a tent. Then he takes a branch from a young palm-tree that has not yet borne any fruit. The length of this palm-branch must measure from the magician's elbow to the tips of his fingers, plus the length of his hand. The upper ends of the four branches mentioned above having been tied together, the branch from the palm-tree is tied horizontally across them, its leaves being stripped off, leaving only the mid-rib. On either side of this mid-rib the magician writes the letters belonging to the two kings of fire, water, air, and dust—for each of these has two kings, one an *'afrīt*, the other a heavenly being. Then he will watch the branch to see in which direction it will bend. If it bends toward the right he will shift all the four branches which are stuck in the ground in that direction—*i.e.*, toward the right—and again watch the horizontal mid-rib. He will repeat this process until he gets to a spot where the mid-rib of the palm-branch remains absolutely horizontal and motionless, when he knows he has arrived at the exact spot under which the treasure lies concealed.

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FIG. 115. CHARMS WORN BY A WOMAN TO KEEP HER HUSBAND'S LOVE

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

THE FELLĀḤIN OF UPPER EGYPT

832 754 If a man loves a woman and wants to marry her, and she has no affection for him, he asks a female friend to assist him in the following way. The friend visits the woman at a time when she is likely to be combing her hair. It is the custom for women to conceal all their hair-combings in the wall of one of the rooms, between the bricks. The friend notices where the woman puts her hair-combings, and, at the first opportunity, steals some of the hair when the owner is not present, and gives it to the man. He takes it to a magician, who measures the length of each hair by the span of his hand. The magician then writes a spell, and, going to a grave, puts the hair inside it, keeping the spot a secret, for no one must know where the hair is hidden. He puts the spell in his pocket, and on some pretext or other (he may ask her for a cup of coffee, for example) visits the house of the woman whose hair he has buried. While he is sitting in her house he will produce the paper on which he has written the spell, and tell her to wear it [789] under her arm, stating that it will afford her excellent protection in the event of anyone else writing a spell against her to prevent her marrying. He thus persuades her to accept his spell, hinting that it may also bring her a good husband. The woman, of course, has no idea that the magician is in league with the man who wants to marry her. She accordingly accepts the spell, hangs it round her neck, and, immediately becoming madly in love with the man who is in love with her, is, of course, only too glad to marry him! This is a very common practice in many parts of Egypt.

754 789 It is also the custom to protect houses from the evil eye, and various decorations are employed for this purpose. Sometimes a plate or saucer is plastered into the wall just above the main entrance, or pieces of old carving, picked up from an ancient rubbish-mound, may be let into the masonry round about the door. The horns of sheep and other animals are also hung over the doorway as a charm to protect the house from the evil eye. A 'bride of the corn,' as already stated,[1] is hung over the front door for the same purpose. Inside the house, on the walls of the living-rooms, I have seen painted designs which the owner told me were put there to keep off the evil eye. Indeed, the devices resorted to for protecting houses, fields, animals, and people of all ages against this dreaded power are multitudinous, and to describe all those that I am acquainted with would require an entire book.

[1] See p. 172.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Ancient Egypt MR5

priesthood.[1] A relief in an Old Kingdom tomb-chapel at Saḳḳāreh[2] depicts the circumcision of two boys, the operation being performed, anyhow in one case, by a funerary priest (*ḥm-kȝ*, "servant of the *ka*"). I mention on p. 88 that, when the barber is about to cut off the foreskin, the boy is taken hold of and told not to be afraid. In the above-mentioned relief one of the operators is represented as saying: "Hold him, do not let him move about [?]," to which the assistant replies: "I will do your bidding."

I refer on pp. 43, 47, and 90 to the early age at which modern Egyptian girls of the peasant class are often married. In Roman times we know that boys of fifteen married girls of twelve and thirteen.[3]

Charms to win love (pp. 90 ff., 224), and also to separate a man from his wife (*cf.* pp. 190 ff.), were employed in ancient Egypt, and examples of such are preserved in magical papyri dating from the Roman age.[4]

We possess a number of ancient Egyptian marriage contracts (*cf.* p. 92). The two earliest date from the reign of Takelōthis I or II, of the Twenty-second Dynasty (895–874 or 860–834 B.C.),[5] the rest mostly from Ptolemaic times.[6] A perfectly preserved marriage contract dating from the reign of the last native Egyptian Pharaoh, Nektanebos, was published a few years ago by Dr Junker.[7] As it is quite complete and as no English translation of it has ever appeared, I think the following may perhaps interest my readers:

> Year 15, second month of the season of Inundation, of Pharaoh Nektanebos (may he live, prosper, and be happy!): The *msḥ*[8] of Edfu, who belongeth to the Wall of Nektanebos,[9] Usir'an, son of Eskhons, whose mother is Tentmehet, saith to the lady Taubasti, daughter of Eskhons, whose mother is Tamunis: I have made thee my wife, I have given thee $\frac{5}{10}$ of a *deben* of silver, making $2\frac{1}{2}$ staters, making again $\frac{5}{10}$ of a *deben* of silver, as thy woman's gift.[10] If I abandon thee as wife [*i.e.*,

[1] See Herodotus, ii, 36 f., 104; G. Elliot Smith and Warren R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, p. 93; A. M. Blackman, "Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian)" in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. x, pp. 299 f.

[2] J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux*, Pl. LXVI.

[3] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 180.

[4] F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Egypte antique* (Paris, 1925), vol. ii, pp. 139 ff.

[5] G. Möller, *Zwei ägyptische Eheverträge aus vorsaitische Zeit* (Berlin, 1918).

[6] See F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1909), vol. iii, pp. 114 ff., 139 ff.

[7] H. Junker, *Papyrus Lonsdorfer I* (Vienna, 1921).

[8] Unknown title.

[9] Either a fort built by Nektanebos or a quarter of the town newly founded by him.

[10] See F. Ll. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 114, note 8.

of Egypt in 1937 there were 7,947,193 men to 7,957,332 women. As nearly everyone marries, the inference is obvious. It may be, too, that Moslem customs have been counteracted to some extent by natural law and by Christian influence as represented in the Coptic family. In any case, years of work and suffering together, children, and a wife's good care create an almost unbreakable bond.

The temperament of the fellaheen, especially of the women, is very ardent and sensual. Marriage is to them less an affair of love than one of sexual attraction and reproduction.

The fellah's wife usually enjoys better health than her husband, who is weakened by bilharzia. She is younger, and despite Islam has had considerable freedom in her own affairs since the most ancient times. Village tradition requires on pain of death that she should be physically a virgin when she marries, but mentally she has ceased to be so long before. Since childhood she has been aware of her parents' intercourse, which is quite open owing to lack either of privacy or of modesty. The conversation of the women, even before young girls, turns often on these subjects, not perhaps viciously, but certainly without restraint. They tell each other of the charms and stratagems with which to please and hold their menfolk.

The men, who are more reserved and by their way of life utterly materialistic, understand only sexual love. They revel in it, each with his own wife, and are kept faithful less by virtue than by village law. Adultery leads immediately to bloodshed, and prostitutes are beyond their means.

The heat of passion is short-lived. At thirty a fellah woman is no longer attractive, but the children she has borne her husband bind him to her. Both want children above everything else. To the wife they mean social prestige, for barrenness is a disgrace and the chief cause of polygamy and divorce (**). To the father they represent helpers and successors, who will allow him to rest and give orders. Accordingly families are large. The average number of children is five, and this presupposes eight to ten births. The older they grow the more important does the mother become.

Another thing that binds the man to his wife is her wisdom and authority, which are often greater than his. A fellah proverb has it that 'Man is a river, woman a dyke'.

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

Ignorant and stupid people are their customers, who ask them to raise the veil from the face of their future lot. This is the procedure: first the man opens the "Book," which will be variegated with florid decorations and bright colours. Next, he gazes intently into the face of the fool sitting before him, and critically examines his appearance and guesses his nature and circumstances. The latter answers him in accordance with what he has divined. For example, he will say to him, "It appears that you are very worried because of poverty and straightened circumstances, nevertheless, cheer up, for your Lord will give you an easy time after this poverty, and in a short while [p. 36] your pockets will be packed tight with money, so that you will be puzzled as to how to spend it." Or he will say to him, "You do not sleep all night long because of thinking, but relief from Allah is at hand, for, verily, He has sent to you one who will endeavour to solve the problem that is before you, and who will save you from it. Only the 'Book' says, that you must pay money and allow me to write a talisman so that your care and grief may vanish, and your affair may be accomplished," and other similar statements.

XV

AMULETS AND TALISMANS

READERS know from what precedes that those who practise bibliomancy, and divination with sand and shells, do not confine themselves to the foregoing which is nothing more than the diagnosis and explanation of troubles, but they lay ambitious claim to a knowledge of the secrets of curing by means of the writing of amulets and talismans[1] to induce love.

Every stupid woman seeks the help of these charlatans on the supposition, say, that her neighbour or her fellow-wife has written against her what will make her husband hate her. So the charlatans write for her some names which are absolutely

[1] [*Aḥgiba* plural of *ḥigâb*.]

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

without connotation, such as Shamhūrish, Dahinish, and Budūḥ, etc.[1] on a patch of paper in disjointed letters. This clearly demonstrates the way by which they mislead the minds of simpletons. They also order them to burn these as incense with substances known to them, which help, in their opinion, to plant love in the heart. Or they write Rawwāsh ibn Hawwāsh or Zuḥal (i.e. Saturn), etc. [p. 37] in the manner indicated, and then charge them to fumigate them with herring skin at the time when the people concerned cohabit, if the aim be the creation of hatred and dislike between her husband and the woman he loves and desires. And there is no doubt that quacks such as these are a menace to all praiseworthy characteristics and noble customs, chiefly because by their endeavouring to cause a separation, by means of imagination, between a husband and his deluded wife, they obtain access, in the majority of cases, to the circumstances of the family, in a manner that is other than admirable. This they accomplish because during the shell-divining and bibliomancy and amulet-fabrication they learn the name of the woman, and the names of the members of her family, and their deep secrets. As a result, they do all they can to create mischief and ruin.

The writing of amulets in the villages is not undertaken by Moors only, but there are other individuals who have special haunts which are known to the *fellāḥīn*.

In the neighbourhood of Kôm al-Akhḍar in the Buḥaira Province, the reputation of a number of them was spread abroad to the effect that they were able to fabricate amulets and talismans, until the value of one of them was not less than a hundred piastres [a little more than a pound sterling]. They then order the owner of the amulet not to open it, for if he do,

[1] [Names of magic import. Shamhūrish, or its variant, Samhūrish, appears in Islamic angelology as the title of a celestial being. There are many such figures, no doubt of Gnostic, or even earlier, origin. E. Blochet in his *Études sur le Gnosticisme musulmane* (in the *Rivisti degli Studi Orientali*, 1909, p. 719 ff.), identifies him with St. George of the Apocryphal Acts. He says (p. 726) that the name has no meaning either in Hebrew, in Aramaic, or in Greek; so he finds an Iranian parallel. But I would suggest that the word ultimately comes from the Hebrew Shemhammephoresh, i.e., the Ineffable Name of God. As for *Budūḥ*, it is the well-known group of letters often found in Arabic talismanic squares, and still written on envelopes as a prophylactic. The numerical value equals 2468. Tr.]

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 (ca. 1890) MR13 Fellahin MR13

Whenever the *Atr* is brought to him he takes it in his two hands leaving between them a distance which he measures with his finger to begin with, then after that he begins mumbling and exorcising, while placing the *Atr* near his mouth. Then when he has finished this he measures it a second time, and so on. Then he informs the messenger that the *Atr* has increased and that it is a prognostic of a speedy cure and a long life. Beyond this nothing will result unless by the writing of a talisman. One cannot avoid observing here that the *Faḳīh* looks out for the state of the mother of the patient. If he sees her weeping and in distress, and she has told him of the violence and continuance of the patient's illness, then after the second measuring he tells her that the *Atr* has not increased, and that it is necessary to write a talisman (*ḥigāb*) from which will result every advantage and blessing (*baraka*) for the patient. Then if the patient is cured, his people afterwards say that he was cured only through the talisman of the Faḳīh ; but if he dies, they say that the *Atr* did not increase, and the *Faḳīh*, whatever happens, is regarded by them as truthful.

XVII

[p. 41] "THE TIED" (AL-MARBŪṬ)

By this is meant that some quacks skilled in the knowledge of spirits are hired by certain individuals to "prescribe" against their enemies "*tying*," that is, impotence in time of coition. The truth of the matter is that since pudicity and perplexity are special properties of some men, they sometimes assert their mastery in the days of wedlock. So that the bridegroom believes that this is simply the result of what some quack doctor has done. And what increases the illusion in its effect on him is that he has listened since childhood to such tales of "*tying*," and believed in this absurd "art."

And as for the manner of releasing the "*Tied*," it is as

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

and place him on the back of a she-ass having its feet tied, so that the back of the sick should coincide with the back of the ass, and one of the " doctors " beats her while the other holds the head of the patient. Then the she-ass jumps violently. It is said that there is mighty healing in her. One of the " sagacious ones " enlarged upon the success of it in his case once. When I asked him concerning the diagnosis of his disease at that time, I knew that a kidney-stone had stopped in his *Ḥālib* [p. 89] (i.e. the canal that conducts the urine from the kidneys into the urinary bladder) so the leaping of the ass helped its rolling and slipping.

But the leaping of the ass is no use in colic of the stomach or of the colon, or inflammation of the spinal marrow.

XLV

TONICS FOR THE VENEREAL FACULTY

THE seeds which are matrimonial tonics and incitements to coition and whose secrets they spread abroad in cities, and which many simpletons and rich people who pay their prices at recognized rates, rush to purchase from them, are all aids to the destruction of health, hastening on ruin. They are not of the least use for the object aimed at by these foolish people, nay, the result is the opposite of that, as those, who serve Science by experience assert (in spite of their being deceived at first by errors). And we do not know that true Materia Medica mentions drugs which prolong the time of propagation or strengthen the venereal faculty, unless some false opinions of certain Westerners which are considered like the opinions of " quacks " in our country.

They have said that the injection of a solution of the testicles of a fox and the Indian pig is advantageous, but experience contradicts this.

[p. 91.] And they may believe that the dye of Spanish flies[1]

[1] [*lit.* Indian flies.]

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

is sure of success, but this success does not materialize unless at the moment when the person is on the brink of the grave, and in the stages of poisoning for which they are no effectual remedies.

XLVI

THE "BEAD" OF THE COW (KHARZAT-AL-BAḲARA)

Some women assert, and butchers agree with them, that there is in the neck or bellies of some cattle a piece of suet which has a wonderful property of producing fat in emaciated women, and so they go to extremes to obtain it. The butchers vie with one another in enhancing its price until on occasion it has reached ten guineas.

We cannot imagine what idea drove the ladies to run after this goal, for beauty does not call for size and fatness. It is enough for a woman that she be healthy and of good deportment. It is all one to her husband whether she be bursting with fat or slender-waisted. The truth is, health is not gained by fatness, but fat is generally one of the accompaniments of health.

But if we grant that health follows fat, who will prove that the "bead" of the cow, which has acquired this wonderful fame, has the least effect? I understand that Kaufmann the German, goes so far as to say that the "bead" of the cow, famous [p. 92] among the women of Cairo, is nothing but the chyme[1] of cattle.

And if his investigation of this subject is barren of scientific results, nevertheless perhaps it enables us to explain this singular belief.

As for the "old wives" of Egypt, they do not order lean women anything else but this.

[1] [The Arabic text has *ṭimṯs*, for which I read *kimṯs* (chyme). I am unable to verify the opinion of Kaufmann. Tr.]

4: Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 (ca. 1890) MR13 Fellahin MR13

PART TWO[1]

[The author's rather laboured introductory remarks may be briefly summarized thus. The printing of Part Two was slightly delayed for two years (from 1892–4). In the meanwhile he received enquiries concerning the work from all sides, especially from orientalists and anthropologists. In this way he was encouraged to publish what follows.]

I

THE SHABSHABA AND "MILKING OF THE STARS"

THE strongest "cure" and most successful drug tried among women to restrain their husbands from flirting with other women and keeping them to themselves, is the *Shabshaba*, and the "*milking of the stars*" (*ḥalb al-nugūm*) comes near it. They are almost alike so that in the course of time their two charms have become confused. (Sometimes they are employed for the "cure" of some of the nervous diseases which the common people assert to be due to the Jinn). The *Shabshaba* is very rare in Egypt. Only certain well-known old wives know its real nature. The most famous of these is the Shaikha Khaḍra al-Aṣwānīya al-Ṣūfīya. She was until 1309 [= 1891] living in a cell at the foot of the [p. 4] Muḳaṭṭam Hills (Cairo) near the tomb of Sīdī 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ. [The famous mystical poet (1181–1235). Tr.]. I believe her name is not absent from the memory of those ladies who knew her and verified the success of her "method" and who used to throng to her.

[1] [Printed in the name of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva, September, 1894.]

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

The manner of the act was (for the *Shaikha*) to go with the unfortunate woman, whose husband had been turned from her, to a region far from sight where the " operator " (*mushabshiba*) dyes her face and her hands with a black substance and puts on black clothing, and lets her hair down upon her shoulder and grasps in her hand three fruits. Then she takes the " patient " (*mushabshab lahā*) by her side and burns incense, placing in it *hashīsh* and *'anzarūt* (or *Anzarūt*)[1] and *mansir* (?) or *mānistir* (?) and *faḥīsala* (I do not know its real medical name). Thereafter she says :

Yā 'afārīt yā 'afārīt	Oh, Spirits ! Oh, Spirits !
Yā ginn al-gibāl	Oh, Jinn of the Mountains !
Yā sukkān al-buhūr	Oh, dwellers of the seas !
Yā 'ummār al-burūr	Oh, inhabitants of lands !
Yā bu'ād fi'l-barrīya	Oh, far off folk in the desert !
Yā ḳātilīn al-darrīya[2]	Oh, slayers of offspring !
Yā mukhālifīn Sulīmān	Oh, oppcnents of Solomon[3]
Yā mubarṭi'īn fi'l-widyān	Oh, gallopers in valleys !

I cry to you. Come to me, and help me with the stars of the sky.

Then it is said that the atmosphere becomes dusty and the day is changed to night, and the darkness becomes intensified, while she continues her spell, saying :

Good evening to you, oh, stars of evening ! Oh, yellow ones like apricots ! I have smitten him with three fruits (*thamarāt*) smite ye him with three live coals (*jamarāt*). (Thereupon she names the person in the case, and casts the fruits upon an image [p. 5] of the person made of clay which is in front of her). One ember will come upon his eyes so that he will see none but her [i.e. his forsaken wife] ; and an ember upon his tongue so that he will speak with none but her ; and an ember upon his ears so that he will listen to none but her. Good

[1] [Gum of a thorny tree that grows in the mountains of Persia. See the *Tadhkara* of Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī, s.v. According to Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, it is *trifolium odoratum*. Tr.]

[2] [i.e. *al-Dharriya*.]

[3] [These are the Jinn who, according to Moslem legends, were forced to assist King Solomon in his works of magic. Tr.]

evening to you, oh, our new moon! you whose father is Friday [the Moslem holy day], and whose mother is the Festival! Oh, Glorious Venus with the wakeful eyes! Take for me from the hair of so and so, the son of so and so, three hairs. Pull them off and mix them and bring them and leave them at the door of so and so the daughter of so and so. Good evening to you, oh, Sindās! (Sindās is said to be the name of the god of lust and debauchery). Oh, Sindās! Oh, Knower of secrets and of . . . (here she names a certain organ of the fair sex, which it is not allowable to mention). (At the same time the Shaikha uncovers her genital organs and brings one of her shoes and beats that organ seven times until its "servant," who is named Sindās, as mentioned above, appears). Oh, Sindās! You have helpers! Oh, Sindās! Where are your brethren! Bring him and bind him and at her door release him! (And hereupon she orders the "patient" to recite the special charm for the purpose, as follows:)

Gāga! Oh, Gāga![1] Decide this matter (*hāga*). Bring him with dust on his head and his shoe in my . . . (and she mentions an expression for one of her members which it is not fitting to mention) and his turban in my girdle (*dikka*), hearing no speech but mine. (Then the Shaikha goes back to the completion of her original spell, and points with her hand to the sky, saying:)

Oh, whirlwind! Oh, clever one! You have satans with you!

Drag him and beat him, and carry him away to the home of this poor woman, and leave him there. Oh, Ṣābī! Oh, Ṣābī![2] Oh, Hearer and Answerer! Bring so and so, the son of so and so, improved and not enraged. If he enters, well and good, and if he goes off, well and good. Let my star and his star be with you in agreement!

(At this time, it is said, the "Helpers" [or Jinn] arrive, of various shapes and appearances, and hearken to the commands of the Shaikha and go off in a hurry after paying tokens of honour and respect.)

This is the regular form of the *Shabshaba*. And if the person

[1] [Gāga is the goddess of guidance.]
[2] [The name of a king of the Unbelieving Jinn.]

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with her has a nervous illness, due to the Jinn, she recites the charm herself along with some modification in the forms of the commands that issue from her Ladyship the *Shaikha*, with a slight revision of their clauses.

[p. 7.] *The true Explanation.* When I wrote my chapters in Part One on Fraternizing with the Jinn (p. 32ff) and on the *Nazīl* (p. 30f), I wrote them in the true belief that the Jinn could not be enslaved. That was after I studied many terrifying books in the Khedivial Library in the Darb al-Gamāmīz (Cairo)[1] constituting almost a quarter of its contents. But I was not the only one who sought what was new, out of a natural love for study which is innate in mankind. For there reached me treatises printed recently in Europe in different languages, whose authors talked about a new subject which they named Spiritism, that is, Spiritualism, or the power of employing spirits. The authors all agreed in what they related of their experiences, or what reached their ears from trustworthy sources, that it is possible to employ the immaterial in the destiny of the material. They differed only at this juncture as to whether they are animal electric rays, or spirits (Jinn) bewitching by the power of incensing and special incantations. Our objection to the holders of the former belief is that they are unable to employ these rays to influence either a person whom the medium (" influencer ") has not seen, or the medium himself. It is as if someone asked the " enchanter " to influence someone whom neither of the two knew, but [p. 8] whose name alone they heard. In spite of this they mention in their treatises that it is possible to employ this spirit for any purpose whatsoever in the case of any person they wish, whether known to them, or unknown.

As for the case of a known person, we agree with their belief, since we have seen in the matter of Envy (see Part One, p. 78] what accounts for that.

As for the holders of the second belief, namely the employment of spirits (or Jinn) by a special way, would that I knew what to say to-day to the learned ones of the civilised world who, until ten years ago, used to lay it down that knowledge was preceded by reason and fortified by experience. But " in

[1] [Now called the Royal Library and located at Bāb al-Khalk. Tr.]

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 (ca. 1890) MR13 Fellahin MR13 EGYPT MR1

E F 298 M57

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

After the man had answered her request and she had gone away, I thought about that "remedy," but I did not find it in any way resembling *mānastir*, except that both of them are from inside the testicle (*ḫiṣya*) of an animal. I was astonished at that. The druggist said to me that in the past this article was asked in connection with this and similar "prescriptions," e.g. as a tonic for coition, and for use in pregnancy, etc. He had men in India searching for it. But to-day the new medicine has nullified these things, and traces remain [p. 29] only on the tongues of "old wives." The laboratory of G——— and F——— and D———[1] has made it easy for us to find this article, however, at a low price since it is imported from Europe. These are the results of the progress of industry. How marvellous it is of Science to abolish it at first in its capacity as a natural product, and then find it (or something counterfeiting it) by way of industry!

E F 831 M3

The true explanation. It is not possible to ascribe *mānastir* to the testicles of an animal unless we consider as true the theory of the Elixir of Judenau (cf. Part I, p. 88 ff) or the bringing back of youth, after old age has come, by means of the testicles of the Indian pig.

I have witnessed the injection of this quintessence during the days when I was in the Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī Hospital. Our Professor, Doctor Ḥasan Pāshā Maḥmūd administered it to an old man called Mūsā, the Shaikh of the village of Ṭurāna in the Province of Buḥaira, who was afflicted with the nervous trembling of old age. But he did not change anything of the state of the patient.

XV

CORNS

F 164 M57

CORNS [lit. "Eyes of fish"] named "nails" (*misāmīr*) are one of the ailments [p. 30] of civilisation, or the excess of women

[1] [Here he mentions the names of certain well-known Cairo druggists in the European quarter. Tr.]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

72.

The Wakening of Love.

×539
●832

Yamma, ya rigli, la"ha-lli māši.
'ēn el-'arūse lil-'aris bitrāši.
Ya lēl ṭūl, ya fegr ma-t'allāši,
lamma yenām el-ḥill waiye ḥalilo,
u-fa"aš er-rummān 'ala-l-furāši.

O mother, my foot! He who passes, has touched it!
The eye of the virgin weeps for her bridegroom.
O, night linger on, O, dawn come not nigh,
When my beloved sleeps with his companion,
And breaks open the pomegranates upon the pillow.

1. The passer-by wishes to enter into relations with her.
5. Compare No. 110, note on l. 6.

73.

The Day That I Saw Thee . . .

[114] The beginning of a song which Vollers took down from the lips of a blind sailor, at Assuân in 1890. (Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. morg. Ges. LVIII, 228.)

Yōm šuftak ḥabbētak ḥāliṣ,
u-sa'et-lak bil-widd el-ḥāliṣ.

The day that I saw thee, I loved thee dearly.
And I have sought thee with sincere love.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

Flatteries.

75.

×539 ●832

Ya na'me, ya belîle,
Yammû ša'ār, ya ṭawîle.

Thou tender one, so like belîle!
Thou, with the abundant hair, thou slender one!

[249?] 1. Belîle is a favorite dish prepared from corn, milk and honey. The sweetheart is compared with this delicate, sweet dish.

76.

Again, as in the preceding song, slender women are meant.

Ya naḫletēn el-'alâli,
ya balaḥkum dawa!

O ye two palms of the upper chamber,
Your dates are medicine!

Dalman has also these two lines, as a refrain to a love-song. In Dalman's song they run thus (p. 249):

Ya naḫlāt bi-l-'alāli — O ye palms of the upper chambers,
ya balaḥḥum dawa — O their dates are medicine,
Ya nār il-'ēn. — O light of the eyes!

Dalman heard the song on a steamer running between Bērût and Alexandria.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

79.

A Cool Reception.

539x
832

Ya ḥali 'al-bedawiye.
u-la'etni fid-darb eḍ-ḍaiya'.
wel-ḥatim fi-ṣbaḥha yezaiya'.
Hallet el-'azib mitnaiya'.
Min ginno ḥarra' eṭ-ṭa'iye.

O, in what a state am I, because of the Beduin girl!
She met me in the narrow path,
And the ring on her finger sparkled. [301]
She left the lad standing, so that he flew into a rage. [152]
In wrath he threw his cap into the fire.

1. El-bedawiye (the Beduin girl) is a frequent subject of the songs of the peasant lads.

4. The sudden change from the first to the third person, is not a rare occurrence in such songs.

5. Respecting this cap compare No. 57. note on l. 4.

[P. 84 is blank]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

80.

Caution.

Ya munyati, gūdi
u-kidi-l-ʿazūl,
wirḫi dalāl šaʿrik
yeraffi-n-nehūd,
widdini bōse u-gūd!
ʾal-li: ana ḫāif
tiṭmaʿ teʿaddi-l-ḥodūd!

O thou my desire, be generous
And outwit the watcher!
Loosen the veil of thy hair,
That it may cover thy breasts,
And give me a kiss and be generous!
Then she said to me: I fear,
Thou desirest to overstep the bounds!

1. The watcher, who prevents lovers from meeting, plays a large part in oriental love-songs. This is explained by the strict watch which is kept over the women and girls. In the country this vigilance is not as strict toward women who are not especially attractive, as it is in the city. The further one goes from Cairo, the less one sees of veiled women.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

81.

Wind and Love.

The point of this song lies in the double meaning of the word hawa: "wind" and "love".

According to Maḥmûd the situation is as follows: The man is a watchman (ṣafîr) of the Administration of Antiquities in the desert, like Maḥmûd himself.

In a hut made of reeds, he takes shelter against the hawa, the wind. (ll. 1—2). The hut is, however, no protection (l. 3) against the other hawa, love. He has asked a girl to visit him in his tent, but receives the pretty "Schnaderhuepfel"-reply contained in ll. 4—7.

[We have no English equivalent for Schnaderhuepfel, it being a kind of extemporaneous, doggerel rhyme, peculiar to the peasants of the Alpine regions. Transl.]

ʿAli ʿElēwe banā-lo fil-gibāl iḫṣāṣ,
biddo yeḥūš el-hawa.
Hūwa el-hawa yinḥāš?
Wir-raml lam yin'iriš,
weš-šōk lam yindās,
wil-bint lam tinḥiṭib,
illa-blammet nās.

ʿAli ʿElēwe has built himself huts in the desert;
He wishes to keep off the wind (hawa)
And will he be able to keep off love (hawa)?
But one does not chew sand,
Nor on thorns does one tread,
And the girl will not be wooed
Save in a gathering of people.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

83.

The Language of the Wise.

Aššaret bi-'ēnēha, fihimt sualīhe;
we-kull el-labībin bil-ašāre yifhamu.

539*
832
[201]

She made signs with her eyes and I understood
her question;
All wise people understand by signs.

84.

Rose, Look Out!

A young peasant is at work in his field, near a house, in which lives a girl, to whom he would make advances.

Ya warde ṭilli
min ṛēṭ el-fellāḥ!
Ṭallet-li min fō'
bil-ḥala' weṭ-ṭō',
lamma ṛamāni eš-šō'.
Fi-'arḍik ṭilli.

O Rose look out
Upon the peasant's field!
Then she looked down from above,
With earrings and neck-ring (adorned),
Till longing seized me.
"Have pity, look out!"

[301]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

86.

A Mighty Helper.

539x
832
[778]

Compare the very similar little song from Cairo, in Lane II p. 81 (hence, of the year 1836)[1]. "He of Embābe" is Shēkh Isma'īn, whose tomb lies in Embābe, near Cairo. In Lane's song the appeal is made to Shēkh Aḥmed of Ṭanṭa (compare No. 8).

Ya-mbābi, yalla, ya-mbābi,
tigma'ni 'ala 'izz aḥbābi!
Win gāni ḥabībi-l-lēle,
la'mil-lo el-kašmīr ḍullēle,
wa'ul-lo: salamāt, ya ḥabībi,
'izz el-layāli el-lēle.

Thou of Embābe, up, thou of Embābe,
Unite me with my best beloved!
And if my beloved comes to me to night,
I will make for her a baldachin of the cashmere shawl,
And say to her: Welcome, my beloved,
This night is the fairest of nights!

4. The couch shall be decked with costly stuffs.

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[1]) The preceding song in Lane (II p. 81) I also once heard sung, but unfortunately failed to write it down:

Everyone whose eyes are sleeping
Need not think the lover sleeps.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

85.

In Love.

×534 One day, à propos of this song, it occurred to a wag amongst our men, to improvise verses, and these improvisations were sung throughout that entire afternoon and, indeed, [186] to the Egyptian national hymn. This hymn is a very curious, [533] musical production, which, I am told, was composed after the oriental style, by a European.

Ṭaliʿa min bēt abūha
rēḥe ḥōš eg-gimāl,
ʿēnhā-l-ḥabībha terāʾi
wil-maḥrame fīdha-š-šimāl.

As she comes out of her father's house
And goes toward the camel-yard,
Her eye looks after her beloved,
And her handkerchief is in her left hand.

[233] 2. The place enclosed by a cactus-hedge or otherwise, in which the camels pasture. It lies outside the village proper.

4. The women are fond of coquetting with little em- [832] broidered handkerchiefs. Compare a song in Dalman, p. 25 [293] (from Jerusalem), which begins thus: "I see Mish'al sitting [531] by the mill, in Mish'al's hand an embroidered handkerchief."

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

88.

Hope Deferred ....

539x
832

The lover awaits impatiently an opportunity to join his sweetheart. He compares himself with a ship, which, although ready to set out, is obliged to lie waiting at anchor. "I have waited for two years, and now I give up hope. Therefore let us depart!" — The song was usually combined with No. 131.

El-lēl, el-lēl, ya ḫilli!
Ya ma ṭāl el-lēl ʿala ḫilli!
El-ḫill ya mā-hu ʾāsi!
u-širibt el-kās, ya nāsi,
sanatēn wana ʿal-barr rāsi.
niḥḍir u-ngurr el-merāsi!

The night, the night, my loved one!
O, how long the night was for me because of my loved one!
O, how hard is the loved one!
I have drunk the cup (of sorrow) ye people,
For two years whilst I lay at anchor by the shore.
Now we are ready, let us weigh anchor!

4. The explanation: "cup of sorrow" is Maḥmûds.
5. Two years, an expression for a long time, is used also in No. 130, l. 3. [195]

[P. 94 is blank]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

Sick with Longing.

90.

539x
832●

Yā ma inte wāḥišni,
ya gamīl, we-rūḥi fīk!
Ya mc'ānis 'albi, le-mīn aškīk?
aškīk lilli 'ādir, 'ādir yihdīk
we-yballiṛ eṣ-ṣābir amalo.
Ana ḥali le-bu'dak lam yirḍīk.

Oh, how lonely thou makest me,
Lovely one, while my spirit is with thee!
O companion of my heart, to whom shall I complain of thee?
I will complain of thee to the Mighty One, — [782]
mighty to guide thee
And make the patient one attain (the goal of) his hope.
It will not please thee (when thou seest) what is my state because of thine absence.

4. Of course God; compare No. 87, l. 2. He, alone, has power, so to guide the girl, that she may finally listen to her lover. [776]

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

91.

X 539 Those women are addressed, who torment a lover with
● 832 hard-heartedness.

'Atīl el-muḥabbe lē tuhgurû?
Mutaiyim u-murram, ma tirḥamû!
Ṭaḥantu fo'ado bi-siḥr il-'iyūn.
Kaffâ ma garā-lo, ta'alu u-nzurû!

Why do ye forsake him, him slain of love?
A slave to love and filled with passion — have pity on him!
Ye have crushed his heart by the magic of your eyes.
That which has befallen him is enough. Come and look upon him!

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The Charmer.

93.

Ya bēḍa, koḥlik sabāni
u-ʿala-l-ḥabāib u-ramāni.
libiset ʿuṣēbe wimradde,
witmaiyilet ʿal-muḥadde.
sabbalit ʿiyūn el-muḥabbe,
ma laḥeʾtiš alaggam ḥoṣāni.

[302] O maiden white, thine eye-paint hath taken me prisoner
And cast me with those who love (thee).
She wore a fillet and a gay-colored bodice,
And leaned upon the cushion.
She drooped her alluring eyes, —
Then I had no time to curb my steed.

1. We would say: Thy beautifully painted eyes have fettered me.

2. Compare with this strange construction in the Arabic, No. 5, l. 2.

[291] 3. The ʿuṣēbe is a little scarf, which is wound about the head like a fillet. The meradde is the gay-colored front of a vest-like garment.

5. She sends him an alluring, languishing glance from her half-closed eyes.

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94.

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Ya bēḍa, koḥlik sabāni
'ala-l-ḥabaib u-ramāni.
El-bēḍa libiset dabūli
weš-šāṭeḥ wel-'o'd el-lūli.
'ala mir-rāḥ u-gābû-li
waštaḥ-bo nuṣṣ el-layāli.

O maiden white, thine eye-paint hath taken me prisoner
And cast me with those who love thee.
The white one wore silk,
And the shāṭeḥ and the necklace of pearls.
Who will go and bring her to me? —
That I may recline with her at midnight!

[301]

1. Compare No. 93, l. 1.

4. Shāṭeḥ is a head-dress of gold or silver coins sewed in a row on the border of a piece of cloth, so that they lie on the forehead from temple to temple. (Almkvist, Kleine Beitraege p. 354.) Other kinds of head-dress however, are known by this name. (Lane II, p. 356.)

[291]

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95.

A Message of Love.

Il-leʾâkum ḥabîbi,
sallamû-li ʿalê,
u-msikû-li ṭarfê šâlo,
weʿzimû-li ʿalê.
Win maʿ-rḍîš bil-ʿozûme,
Alla yehauwan ʿalê.

If my lover meets you,
Greet him me
And hold him by the corner of his shawl
And invite him to come to me.
But, if he cares not to accept the invitation,
May Allah forgive him for it!

6. For love of him I forgive him his refusal!

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107.

Persuasion.

The girl comes to her lover, named Abu Mūsa, who is busy at the sāqye (compare No. 97), to fetch him from his work. "Thou wilt find work at home to do, and there thou wilt be near me, and there will be time, too, for something else beside work."

Yabu Mūsa, ḥill et-tōr!
Walla, māna ḥāllo,
lamma maiyil ḍillo.
Ḍillo maiyil u-rāḥ,
wa-la ba'āš illa-l-mirwāḥ,
ṣaffē banāni, ṣaff ilwāḥ,
ṣaff il-ḥōḥ 'ala-t-tiff'āḥ!
Ta'āle, ya ḥabībi, wišwešni;
aḥsan rāḥ terḥ we-tūḥašni.

"Abu Mūsa, untie the bull!"
"By Allah! I will not untie him
Until his shadow has grown long."
"But his shadow has already grown long and gone away,
And there is nothing left to do but to go

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And pile up the dove-jars and boards,
And pack the peaches and the apples!
Come, my beloved and caress me,
Else thou wilt stay out and leave me alone."

1. The bull which turns the sāqye. (Compare No. 97.)

6. The walls of the dove-houses are built of Nile mud and earthen jars, so ranged on each other, that the openings are toward the inside and the bottoms toward the outside. These jars furnish the holes for the nests. The bottoms of some of the jars are knocked out, in order to make entrance-holes. Boards and the ribs of palm-branches, form perches on the inside, while for the outside, branches of trees are usually stuck into the wall.

The illustration shows a half-demolished dove-house, the construction of which is thus made very clear.

These fortress-like dove-houses are to be found especially in Middle Egypt.

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108.

At the Garden-Door.

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The friend of a youth advises him as to how he may approach a certain rich and beautiful girl (l. 1—6). The youth himself is also rich (ll. 9—10). The girl is from the maṛrib ("the west", that is to say, the coast-land of North Africa other than Egypt), where the women are noted for their beauty, as are the men for their sagacity. Ll. 7—13 contain narration by the girl. The song was a favorite of our workmen and often sung.

[186]

ʿAla bab il-genēne
windah: Ya gamāl!
Tiṭlaʿ-lak ṣabīye
bēḍa maṛrabīye
bir-raʾabe-ṭ-ṭarīye
wil-lāli ṛarʾān.

Ḍarab el-bab bi-īdo,
sammaḥni ʾaṣīdo,
ʿašara min ʿabīdo
tuḍrub bir-ruṭān.
Daḫalna el-genēne,
beʿna wištarēne
we-ḥammalna eg-gimāl.

[p. 122 is blank]

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At the garden-door
Call: "O Beauty!"
Then a maiden will come out to thee,
A fair one, from the marrib,
With the soft neck,
On which the (heavy) pearls lie sunken.

He struck the door with his hand,
And let me hear his song.
Ten of his black slaves
Gabbled together.
We entered the garden,
Sold and bought
And loaded the camels.

12. 13 are an euphemism.

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2. In spinning, the thread is often moistened with the lip. 539x
3. To stand at the hearth in a peasant-hut, where the [286]
only outlet for the smoke is the door — there is rarely a [354]
window — certainly does not promote the beauty of the eyes.
5. It never struck me heretofore, that blond or red hair [826]
was considered by the peasant to be especially beautiful;
for instead of yellow, someone else said: laḥmar = "red".
6. The body is represented as a plate, on which lie the [826]
breasts, the "pomegranates" (Maḥmûd).

Wild Nights.

539x
832

111.

Yasmar, ya lābis 'agātak,
Ya miššaḥla' min dān aḥwātak,
nuṣṣ el-lēl nisma' ḥarakatak,
šēi ginān wil-lēl ma banām!

O brown one with the ivory bracelets,
Who art more graceful than all thy sisters,
Half the night we will listen to thy prattle,
A mad affair, and at night I will not sleep!

2. lišaḥla' refers to the coquettish movements in dancing [535]
and walking, which, according to our feeling, are not always
refined. Compare 112, 1. The Arabic expressions for "graceful"
and "prattle", here used, are not so innocent.

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112.

Gāi min beʿīd yitmaḫṭar,
wil-lūli ʿala ṣudro itbaḫtar.
Hāt el-mudām, ya ḫilli, u-nuskar,
šēi ginān wil-lēl ma banām.

She comes, in the distance, with swaying gait.
And the pearls are scattered o'er her breast.
Bring forth the wine, my dearest, we will drink ourselves drunk,
A mad affair, and at night I will not sleep.

1. See Note on l. 2, No. 111.

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Invitations.

113.

The girl makes pretense of showing her lover one of the sand-banks which emerge from the Nile, suffer many changes and disappear, according to the season of the year. Here, of course, it is only a cloak (Maḥmûd).

Yā ṭara, ya ḥabîbi,
kuntĕ fēn el-yōm?
šaʿrak mesabsab,
we-ʿēnak sable lin-nōm.
Iṭlaʿ bina ʾaṣr ʿāli,
ninām we-nišbaʿ nōm.
wafarragak ʿala-l-gezīre,
illi-tnašet el-yōm.

Where, my beloved,
Hast thou been today?
Thy hair hangs on thy brow
And thine eye is heavy with sleep.
Let us mount a lofty house
And sleep till we are sated with sleep.
And I will show thee the island
Which has formed itself today.

3. Literally: hangs straight down.

5. ʾaṣr, literally: castle, designates a solidly built structure with an upper story. Even a house such as the middle class in the cities possess, is, in the country beside the miserable peasant-huts, designated as ʾaṣr, "castle" (Vollers).

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114.

Two people conversing. Ll. 1—2 are the words of the man; ll. 3—5 are spoken by the woman.

Yabu-l-libās el-ʾaṭīfe
we-dikketo halahalla!
Gibt en-nabāil, ya sīdi,
wed-da" laḥḍar ʿala īdi!
Ya Moslimīn waḥḥadu Alla!

"Thou with the velvet trowsers
The lacings of which are so fine!"
"I have put on the bracelets, sir,
And the green tatooing is on my hand!
Ye Moslems, testify to the oneness of Allah!"

4. Regarding the tatooing of the hands compare the remark on No. 64. l. 3.

5. The Egyptian sees nothing improper in combining pious expressions with most questionable matters.

115.

Taʿalâ-li, ya wād, taʿalâ-li,
taḥtĕ sagaret yūḥ, ya ṛazāli!

Come to me, my lad, O, come to me
Under the tree of delight, O my gazelle!

2. For "delight", the Arabic has a characteristic exclamation of pleasure (yûḥ!).

119.

The Door and the Lover.

Ya bāb, ʾul-li ʿala auwil mesaḥibetak,
ya bāb, ʾalbi inšabak miʿ ḥubbê ṣāḥibetak,
ya bāb, ana kuntê gāi-lak maʿ ṣiyāḥ ed-dīk,
ya bāb, ana kuntê nāwi aḫlaʿak warmīk,
ya bāb, ana kuntê nāwi aḫlaʿak, sibtak.
Ma ʾal-li-l-bāb: Ḫalli el-ʿaʾl sākin fīk,
wiš yiʿmil el-bāb, lamma ṣaḥbo gāfik?
Ma ultê: Ya bāb, gāk ḫafsê bi-muftāḥak,
ʿiyūn ḥabībi terāi min bēn ilwāḥak.
Ma ʾal-li-l-bāb: Wana mā-li taʿtibni,
wiš yiʿmil el-bāb, lamma ṣāḥibo zāḥak?
Ma ʾultê: Ya bāb, dana ḍaiyaḥtê ʿalê māli,
u-lē ma ʾābilt el-gamīl badri u-hu-māli,
ʾul-lo, ḫalli yūfi il-miʿād!
Illi ʿalê siʾān ṣauwamni ʿan akl ez-zād.
ʾasamēn u-billâh, we-ṣōm el-ʿām yilzamni,
in ma-ḥtaḍā-li-b-uaṣlo lasakkano il-alḥād!

"O door, tell me for thy former friendship's sake!
O door, my heart is entangled in love for thy mistress.
O door, I was on the way to thee before the cock crowed.
O door, I intended to lift thee from the hinges and throw thee on the ground.
O door, I intended to lift thee from the hinges, but I have left thee."
What the door said to me: "Let reason dwell in thee!

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What shall a door do, if its mistress treat thee coldly?"
What I said: "O door, mayest thou sink, together with thy key,
The eyes of my beloved are looking between thy boards."
What the door said: "Wherefore dost thou reproach me?
What shall a door do, if its mistress does not want thee?"
What I said: "O door, it is I who have spent all my money for her;
And why have I not met the lovely one, when she went to draw water?
Tell her, to come to the meeting-place at the right time!
She, with the beautiful hips, is to blame that I hunger and eat no bread.
In truth and by Allah, and may a year of fast be laid on me,
If she does not grant me union with her, I will give her lodging in the grave!"

13. Compare the remark on No. 77.

15. In the original it is more realistic, namely: thigh. From love-sickness I do not think of eating.

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122.

Capricious Love.

Yabiaḍ, ya ḥilu-l-'awām,
yalli 'ala ṣudrak rummān,
kam aṣlaḥak winte ṛaḍbān!
Ṭalet 'alēna-l-layāli!

Thou white one with the sweet form,
Thou, on whose breast pomegranates lie,
How many, "Allah restore thee", it costs me when thou art angry!
The nights have been too long for us!

3. Aṣlaḥak Allâ (May Allah restore thee) is a much used, ejaculatory prayer.
4. During which we have been far from each other.

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126.

Recognized.

x 539 832 A girl wishes to ingratiate herself with a certain well-to-do young man (ll. 1—2). He repels her, saying that she bears the name of her other lover plainly upon her lips.

Massīk bil-ḫēr, ya-Muḥammed mela'îni,
rākib kuḥēle u-rāḥ el-kummê sittînî.
Dā'i'a 'ala šiffetak ḫandar
u-'Osmān Bē! 'Iš' el-banāt ṣandara!
Ya rabb, neggīni.

"Good evening, Moḥammed, who meetest me
Riding a noble mare, and trailing the sleeve yards long."
"[O be gone!] Tatooed in green on thy lips is
The name Osman Bê! — — How fickle are girls when in love!
O Lord, save me [from all danger]!"

2. The last words mean literally: trailing the sleeve sixty (yards) long, a great exaggeration.

3. Literally: "Thou hast green color tatooed and the [304] name etc." Regarding tatooing see No. 64. Girls often have the name of a lover tatooed upon themselves. Compare a song from Endor in Galilee, in Dalman's collection, p. 112. "... the hands a work of the Creator and the blue tatooing over them strewn. On her breast she writes Ḥ and M and D." (These letters stand for Ḥ(a)m(a)d, the name of the lover.)

5. This exclamation has no connection with what precedes, [782] as it would seem from the English. It is one of the innumerable, ejaculatory prayers, which Moslems enjoy repeating.

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130.

Remorse.

Yāna, yāna min ṛarāmo, yāne!
Ṣabaḥet ʿēnêye mis-sahar dablāne.
Sanatēn wana taḥtē ḍill ḥirāmo.
Hāṣimt ummi wabāye ʿala šāno.
Ya mīn yeṣallaḥni dana-l-ṛaḍbāne.

Oh, in what a state, what a state am I, because of my burning love for him!
In the morning my eyes are dull for lack of sleep.
For two years I have been under the shadow of his blanket.
I fell out with my mother and my father for his sake.
Oh, who will comfort me? I am so vexed!

1. What consequences my love has entailed!

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5 They will carry thee to the villages of the Ḳarbîye,
And some fine day thou wilt be without thy children.
So stay by thy rowing,
Whilst thou stirrest up the flowing sand."

2. 'ange is a large sail-boat, almost exactly resembling the better known dahabîye, excepting that it is smaller. Compare Wilkinson, Modern Egypt I p. 209 ff. (cut ibid. p. 195).

3. Compare note on No. 96, l. 5.

4. 5. eš-šar'îye, namely: the east and el-ḳarbîye: the west, are two provinces of the Delta, of which the capitals are Zaqāzîq (Za'āzi') and Ṭanṭa.

8. In pushing off, the oars stir up the sand. This is Maḥmûd's explanation, but I have a suspicion that this line has been corrupted. Perhaps a picture has slipped in from the excavations, where the fine, running sand often makes the work a task of the Danaïds.

132.

An Evidence of Favor.

A certain working-girl boasts to her companions. The inspector has not given the pretty girl a pomegranate without a purpose. The pomegranate is a sign for love.

El-ḫôli iddâni rummâne
we-ṛamazni be-'înо en-na'sâne.

The inspector has given me a pomegranate
And has winked at me with his sleepy eye.

1. Ḫôli is the inspector of an estate of some size.